15: U.S. Navy--30 (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 581, 836, 585, 842

"The Chinese make no pretense that marriage is other than a useful procreational arrangement. Sometimes the tradition is observed that the parents or elder relatives of the groom's family send back to the bride's house evidence that the bride was virginal. In any case, for at least three days(and sometimes longer according to family customs) the bride must remain within the bedroom and there receive the groom's friends and their congratulations and gifts. The new father-in-law or other elder male will proudly show guests the bedchamber and invite them to feel of the softness or note the elegance of the bed. All are supposed to receive a cup of ceremonial tea from the hands of the bride. As they finish it, a gift of money is usually left in the empty cup (wrapped in red paper) and the blushing bride is urged to have as many male children as possible, quickly."

15: U.S. Navy--30 [4] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 581, 587, 595, 842

"Too many daughters in a house which cannot employ them to economic advantage are an embarrassment and must be sent out to marriages or to common-law cohabitation or concubinage on a less favorable social basis. It is almost unheard of that a widow or divorcee should remarry."

15: U.S. Navy--30 [5]
116, 595, 597, 581, 591

(no date) 1944

Formosans

"If a couple is so unfortunate as to have no male issue they may resort to either or both of two practices. If the husband can afford it, a secondary wife can be taken into the home, whose male offspring will have the full status of heirs and will, in all probability, be reared by the first wife. If a secondary wife is not taken, or if there are no sons of such a union, then adoption is resorted to. The son of another family (never the first son or heir) can be adopted outright or taken as the husband of a daughter of the house. This last arrangement is preferred, for it establishes a blood connection. The new son-in-law assumes the name of his bride's house and may take up residence in it. This arrangement often results in unhappy family situations, for the adopting family is usually in much better economic circumstance than the family of the young man adopted, and he is subject to a sense of accepted social inferiority. There are, however, instances of arrangements between well-to-do friends who wish to link the fortunes of their houses."

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

CHAPTER VIII

Patterns of Marriage and Divorce

UP TO THIS POINT, it has been possible to describe the manifestations of the Chinese family system in Taiwan only through an abbreviated view of the families existing at a particular moment—the view which is afforded by enumeration of households in the census. This approach suffers from several shortcomings. The delineation of what should comprise a family, inherently arbitrary, was one that took account of only those family members who resided together, and thus understated the influence of kinship in the society. Also, the data give but a sketchy indication of family members' characteristics from which we might deduce more satisfactorily their familial roles (items like age, marital status, and their degrees of relationship to each other). In short, our knowledge of what occurs in Taiwanese families is not so well documented as the behavior of their members outside of the family units, and comes largely by inference from this second kind of information.

Part of this gap may be filled in two ways from other sorts of data. The conclusions about family composition will be supplemented in this chapter by a discussion of *marriage*, on which depended the formation of new family units and the continuation of old ones. The next chapter will be devoted to measuring the fertility of Taiwanese, through which their families replenished the population with new members.

Like people in other countries, most Taiwanese marry sooner or later. The differences between Taiwan and many Western countries are superficially those of degree—for most Taiwanese men and women marriage comes early and is nearly universal. It ranks as one of the most significant events that can happen in a family, and is attended by attitudes and customs that reflect the importance ascribed to it. The wedding itself is ordinarily solemnized by the most elaborate and festive ceremony that a family can afford.[1] The idea of marriage is so endowed with importance and virtuous purpose that for a person to remain celibate is usually a mark of unexampled mis-

[1] There are many descriptions of the conduct of Chinese on these occasions and the ways in which this fits in with other familial life. Cf. Lang, O. (1946), and Levy, M. J., Jr. (1949).

52:Barclay S-5 (no date)1954 ADI Formosa ADI

fortune. In contrast to the West, Chinese culture entertains no alternatives that offer serious competition to the "normal" family roles.

TABLE 59

PROPORTIONS OF TAIWANESE EVER-MARRIED, BY AGE AND SEX, 1905 TO 1935

Males and Females

Age	*1905*	*1915*	*1920*	*1925*	*1930*	*1935*
			Males			
10–14	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
15–19	10.2	5.7	6.3	5.3	7.3	5.7
20–24	45.7	40.1	42.8	44.7	51.6	49.8
25–29	77.4	72.9	76.5	78.2	82.9	83.1
30–34	89.4	88.1	88.6	89.7	91.3	91.9
35 and over	95.3	95.4	95.5	95.8	96.2	96.0
			Females			
10–14	2.3	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.4
15–19	47.3	34.7	32.8	29.4	32.6	28.1
20–24	91.6	87.4	86.6	84.4	86.3	83.0
25–29	98.2	96.6	96.9	96.2	96.1	95.9
30–34	99.2	98.5	98.5	98.3	98.0	97.7
35 and over	99.7	99.5	99.4	99.3	99.3	99.0

Source: Tables of the Taiwanese population by age, sex and marital status in the reports of each census. The "Informally Married," who in 1920 were shown as a subtotal of "Unmarried," have been reinstated here as "Married," in conformity with the census procedure at other dates.

There has been no indication from related spheres of activity already discussed that these pressures to marry were anything but constant and unyielding during Japanese rule in Taiwan. The percentages of Taiwanese over age 30 who eventually married remained about the same—all but one or two per cent of women, and all but nine or ten per cent of men. Yet the proportions of Taiwanese who had ever been married did not remain constant at all ages. The younger people of both sexes displayed some signs of altering the time when their marriage took place (see Table 59).

So far as this evidence is germane, however, it offers conflicting testimony: the pressures would appear to have been weakened for women under age 30 and to have grown stronger for men. Faced with this apparent inconsistency, we naturally cannot vouch for the inner motives of people about to marry. Nor can we adopt the usual